Identity Avoidance in Morphology; Evidence from Polyfunctional Clitics of Sorani Kurdish

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April 2017

In this study

- Kurdish and its dialects

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- Kurdish and Its Dialects
- Polyfunctional Clitics in Sorani Kurdish

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- Kurdish and its dialects
- Polyfunctional Clitics in Sorani Kurdish
- Morphological Haplology

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- Kurdish and its dialects
- What are the polyfunctional clitics in Sorani Kurdish
- Morphological Haplology
- Constraint-based Morphology with basic concepts from Optimality Theory (Prince and Smolensky: 1993)

Kurdish and its dialects

- Iranian languages are divided into two major branches:

  Western and Eastern

  Southwestern (Persian) and **Northwestern** (**Kurdish**)

- Kurdish

"Is a cover term for a cluster of northwest Iranian languages and dialects spoken by between 20 and 30 million speakers in a contiguous area of West Iran, North Iraq, eastern Turkey and eastern Syria" (Haig and Opengin: 2015)

Northern, Central, and Southern(Windfuhr (2009)

"In terms of numbers of speakers and degree of standardization, the two most important Kurdish dialects are Sorani (Central Kurdish) and Kurmanji (Northern Kurdish)" (Haig and Matras: 2002)

Where Kurdish is spoken?

- Northern Kurdish (Kurmanji)

They're mainly in Turkey, Iraq, Syria, and Western Azarbayjan in Iran

- Central Kurdish (Sorani or Mukri)

Some parts in Iraq and Iran (Northwestern, Northeastern, in particular)

- Southern

Kermanshah and Ilam Province (West and Southwestern part of Iran)

Sorani and Its Dialects

In this study, I am going to talk in particular about Sorani Kurdish.

Its dialects are:

Mukriyani

Ardalani

Garmiani

Hawlari

Babani

Jafi

Sorani and Its Dialects

In this study, I am going to talk in particular about Sorani Kurdish.

Its dialects are:

Mukriyani

Ardalani (I picked a variety which is spoken in Kamyaran)

Garmiani

Hawlari

Babani

Jafi

What are the polyfunctional clitics in Sorani?

Before answering this question, I would like to answer the following question:

What is polyfunctionality?

polyfunctionality

"the systematic use of the same morphology for more than one purpose".(Stump, 2015: 229)

"the same class of grammatical markers can assume related but different functions in different grammatical contexts." (Ackerman and Bonami 2014: 1)

What are the polyfunctional markers in Sorani?

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TABLE 1. Polyfunctional Concord markers in Sorani

Markers	{PER NUM}
=em	{1 sg}
=et	{2 sg}
=ɪ	{3 sg}
=man	{1 pl}
=tan	{2 pl}
=yan	{3 pl}

What are the polyfunctional markers in Sorani?

Markers presented in Table 1 are polyfunctional; because their morphological behavior aligns well with what have been said about polyfunctionality in the literature (Stump: 2016, Ackerman and Bonami: 2014)

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Markers presented in table 1 are polyfunctional; because their morphological behavior aligns well with what have been said about polyfunctionality in the literature (Stump: 2016, Ackerman and Bonami: 2014)

- "**same morphology for more than one purpose**": The same morphological marking (form) expresses two distinct content.
- **"the same class of grammatical markers can assume related but different functions in different grammatical contexts.":** The same class of markers presented in Table 1 mark both possessor agreement and subject agreement of the past transitive clause.

  Two distinct functions: {POSS} and {SUBJ PAST Tr}

  Related functions: {AGR: αPER βNUM}

Subject Agreement of the Past Transitive Clause

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lma geʃtman duaka va dur mizi-ka sobana=**man** xʷard .
We all yesterday around table-DEF breakfast=SUBJ.1PL eat.PAST
'We all ate breakfast around the same table yesterday'.

lma geʃtman har ruʒ va dur mizi-ka. sobana axʷew**yn** .
We all everyday around table-DEF breakfast eat.PRS-SUBJ.1PL
'We all eat breakfast around the same table everyday'.

lma ta zanko doaka dow**in.**
We to campus yesterday. run.PAST-SUBJ.1PL
'We ran to the campus yesterday'.

Subject Agreement of the Past Transitive Clause

press
hose

ST

Ergativity in verb-agreement (Comrie: 1978):
The subject of intransitive verbs (S) and the object of transitive verbs (P) are marked in the same way, which is different from the subject of transitive verbs (A).
(S) and (P) : by suffixes
(A): by clitics
Split ergativity: It is sensitive to the tense of the verb

'We all eat breakfast around the same table everyday'.

Ima ta zanko doaka dow**in.**
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'We ran to the campus yesterday'.

Subject Agreement of the Past Transitive Clause

TABLE 2. Simple Past Conjugation of xʷarden 'to eat'

xʷarden 'to eat'			
1 sg	xʷard=em	1 pl	xʷard =man
2 sg	xʷard =et	2 pl	xʷard =tan
3 sg	xʷard -ɪ	3 pl	xʷard =yan

Possessor Agreement

Markers presented in Table 1, repeated below, mark possessor agreement on the noun phrases:

Markers	{PER NUM}
=em	{1 sg}
=et	{2 sg}
=ɪ	{3 sg}
=man	{1 pl}
=tan	{2 pl}
=yan	{3 pl}

ketew 'POSS book'			
1 sg	ketew=**em**	1 pl	ketew=**man**
2 sg	ketew=**et**	2 pl	ketew=**tan**
3 sg	ketew=**ɪ**	3 pl	ketew=**yan**

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Va koraga=**man** vet.

'We said to the boy… '

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'we gave a rose to her'

If no direct object, they attach to the indirect object:

Va koraga=**man** vet.

'We said to the boy… '

If neither direct object nor indirect object, they attach to the verb:

vet=**man**

'we said'

Why clitics?

Possessor agreement markers as I said earlier attach to the noun:

Ketew=**em** 'my book'

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Ketew qow-aka=**m**
Book thick-DEF=POSS.1SG
'My thick book'

Why clitics?

Possessor agreement markers as I said earlier attach to the noun:

Ketew=**em** 'my book'

When other pieces join the noun phrase the possessor agreement marker attaches to the last member of the phrase= **edge clitics**

Ketew qow-aka=**m**
Book thick-DEF=POSS.ISG
'My thick book'

Ketew qow qadimiy-aka=**m**
Book thick old-DEF=POSS.ISG
'My thick old book'

Why clitics?

Possessor agreement markers as I said earlier attach to the noun:

Ketew=**em** 'my book'

When other pieces join the noun phrase the possessor agreement marker attaches to the last member of the phrase= **edge clitics**

Ketew qow-aka=**m**
Book thick-DEF=POSS.1SG
'My thick book'.

Ketew qow qadimiy-aka=**m**
Book thick old-DEF=POSS.1SG
'My thick old book'

Modifier

Why clitics?

Ketew o daftar=**em**

Book and notebook=**poss.1 sg**

'My book and notebook'

Ketew daftar o kif=**em**

Book notebook and bag=**poss.1 sg**

'My book, notebook and bag'

Coordination

Why clitics?

ketewak=am [ke paraka nysi=m] dam be yaki a rafighakanem.

'I gave my book that I wrote last year to one of my friends.'

ketewak=at [ke doashow xwand=em] fera xwashem li hat.

'I liked your book that I read last night'

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Relative clause as the modifier

So, I don't consider them the same as possessor edge clitic ='s in English.

"Everyone who hurried's ideas"

"Everyone who are hurrying's ideas" (Taken from Zwicky1987:141)

Why clitics?

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'I gave my book that I wrote last year to one of my friends.'

So, It seems that possessor agreement clitics in Sorani are sensitive to clausal type of modifiers. In case of the emergence of the relative clause, the possessor clitic tends to attach to the relativized noun phrase. Their edge-like distribution is locally conditioned.

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"Everyone who hurried's ideas"

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Morphological Haplology

- De Lacy (1999) defines it as:

"The operation resulted from the avoidance of identical adjacent strings".

- Yip (1998) following McCarthy (1986), Yip (1988), Odden (1988), Myers (1993), and Pierrehumbert (1993) regards this phenomenon as the result of the satisfaction of the outranking OCP constraint. McCarthy (1986) defines this constraint (Obligatory Contour Principle)as:

  "Adjacent identical elements are forbidden".

OCP?

It was originally formulated by Leben (1973) to deal with tonal phenomena, and later extended to segments and then to morphemes.

The main idea was, melodies must not be identical but rather alternating.

Yip (1998) believes that there should be a difference between identical elements in phonology and morphology:

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Yip (1998) believes that there should be a difference between identical elements in phonology and morphology:

OCP (segment), OCP (feature), OCP (stem), **OCP (morph)**

OCP (morph)

Morphological haplology takes place to satisfy OCP (morph)

Xu 2007: 14

OCP (morph): Two morphs with (partially) identical shapes cannot be adjacent.

McCarthy & Prince 1995

MORPHDIS: *Distinct instances of morphemes have distinct contents, tokenwise.*

Optimality Theory: Prince and Smolensky(1993)

Kager (1999)

- Existing forms in world languages are resulted from the interaction between constraints (Faithful and markedness)

Faithful Constraint: Output preserve the properties of of their basic (lexical) forms

Markedness Constraint: Output forms meet some criterion of structural well-formedness

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- Components of the OT Grammar

Lexicon: Contains lexical representation

Generator: Generates output candidates

Evaluator: The set of ranked constraints, which evaluates output candidates, and select the optimal candidate.

Constraint-based Morphology and its relevance to morphological haplology in Sorani Kurdish

Constraint-based Morphology is built based on the notions discussed in OT (Constrains, candidates, winners, and…)

Morphological haplology happens to satisfy an outranking constraint in this language OCP (morph)

As I said earlier…

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As I said earlier…

- Possessor agreement and subject agreement of the past transitive verb both are marked by the same markers.

- Possessor agreement attaches to the noun phrase

No Problem ☺

Dam ʧaw=**em** a xejalat suro bu (Possessed noun as Subject)
Face= **POSS.1 SG** of embarrassment red turn.PAST
'My face turned red of embarrassment'.

Doaka va skayp tak bawg=**ma** qesa=**m** kerd (Complex Pred)
Yesterday on Skype to father=**POSS.1 SG** talk=SUBJ.1 SG do.PAST
'I talked to my dad on Skype yesterday'.

imru rafiq-akan=**tan** la zanko owin-**em.** (Possessed object in present)
Today friend-DEF.PL=**POSS.2 PL** at. School see.PRS-SUBJ 1 SG
'I see your friends at school today'

No problem ☺

When the direct object is possessed, and the subject agreement clitic of the past transitive verb, by default attaches to the object of the clause.

me ketew-aka=tan=em xʷand.

I book-DEF=2 PL. POSS= 1 SG. SUB read. PAST

'I read your book'.

me ketew-aka=y=em xʷand.

I book- DEF-3 SG POSS= 1 SG. SUB read. PAST

'I read his book'.

But, what happens if the direct object of the past transitive clause is possessed by the subject of that clause?

In this case, subject and possessor are sharing the same person and number properties:

Ima nan=aka=**man** xʷard .

we bread-DEF=**POSS. SUB.1pl** eat. PAST

'**We** ate **our** bread'.

awan nan=aka=**yan** xʷard .

They bread- DEF=**POSS. SUB. 3pl** eat. PAST

'**They** ate **their** bread'.

This Process seems to be purely morphological

1. Total reduplication (OCP (stem))

kamkam 'little by little' nemnem 'drizzle' fesfes 'delay'

This Process seems to be purely morphological

1. Total reduplication (OCP (stem))

kamkam 'little by little' nemnem 'drizzle' fesfes 'delay'

2. Partial reduplication

karbar 'things' (in greeting) gelpel 'tumble' naznuz 'coyness' (negative meaning)

This Process seems to be purely morphological

3. Haplology fails to take place after the non-morphemic 'man', 'tan' and 'an'

i**man**=**man.**	Na**tan**=**tan**	di?
faith=1 pl. POSS	Nathan (name)= 2 pl. SUBJ	see.PAST
'our faith'	'Did you see Nathan?'	

Tup**an**=**an**

football= 3 pl. POSS

'their football'

How about the adjacency of segments?

OCP (segment) is ranked higher than OCP (stem); because final gemination is banned: consonant deletion as an antigemination operation (McCarthy 1986)
*radd rad 'trace' *hadd had 'limit' *ʃarr ʃar 'evil'

So,

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OCP (morph) >> OCP (segment) >> OCP (stem) (IDENT-BR proposed by Kager (1999))

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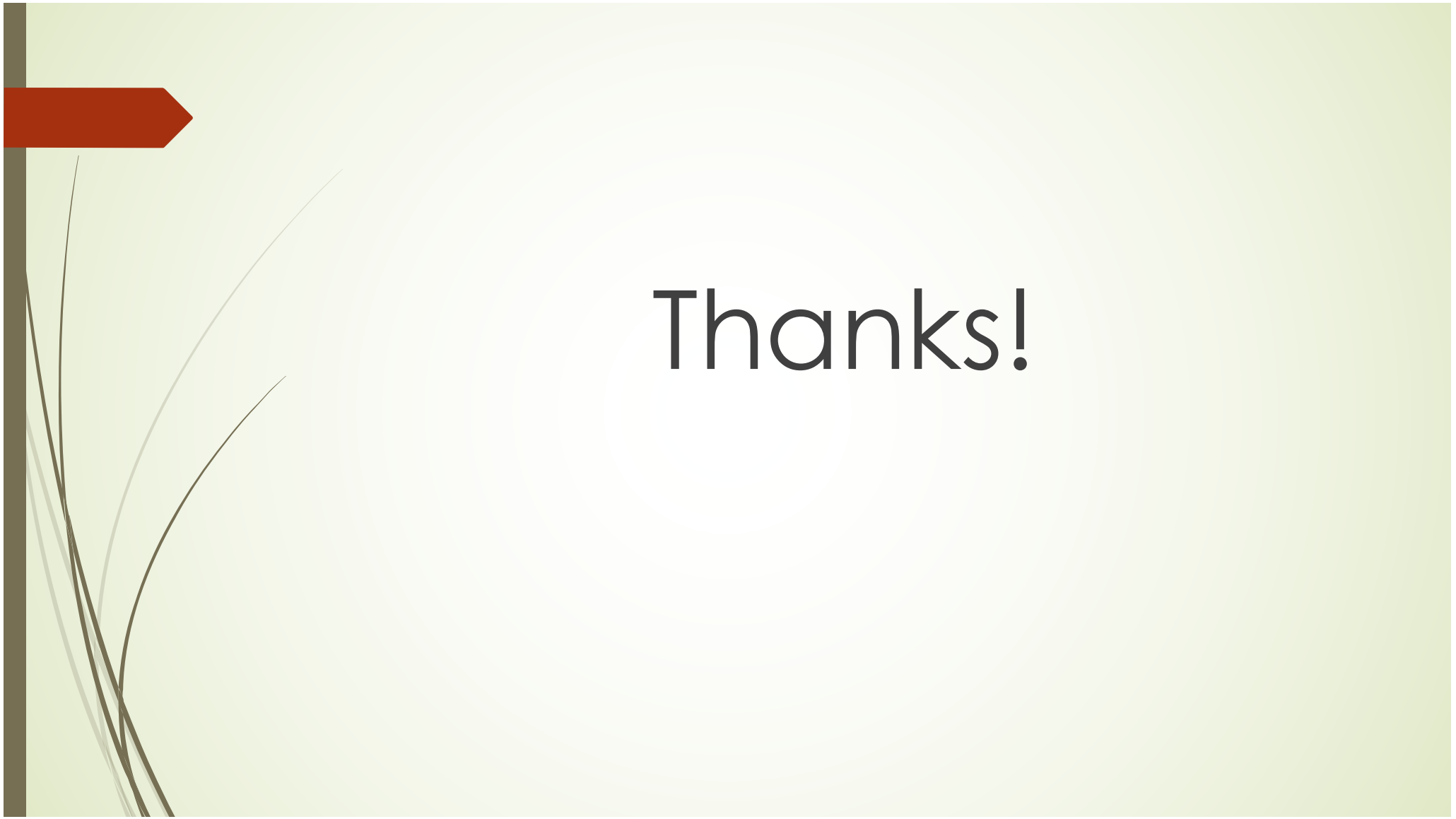
Thus,

OCP (morph) >> OCP (segment) >> OCP (stem)-MORPHDIS

A Constraint-based Analysis

Ketew-aka {1pl POSS 1pl SUBJ PAST TR}	OCP (morph)	MORPHDIS	MAX-IO
ketew -aka-man-man	*!		
☞ ketew- aka-man		*	*


Thanks!